8:Panikkar I-4, 5 (no date) 1918 AWll Kerala AWll Nayar

He had criminal and civil jurisdiction and the right to claim military service from the Nāyars under him. The *Nadu Vazhis* kept a local force varying between five hundred and one thousand men, which they were obliged to put into the field at the command of their Rajah. The *Nadu Vazhis* were kept under control by the Rajah when he was able to do so. But in any case they were bound to fight for him. Below these *Nadu Vazhis* were *Desa Vazhis* (lords of the Manor). They had the right of keeping a *Kalari* or a military academy. In each village there was one *Desa Vazhi* (sometimes more), who was called master (*Asān*) by the Nāyars. He was their military preceptor in peace time and their leader in war time.

The principal business of the *Desa Vazhi* was to train the young men of *Desa* in his *Kalari*. All Nāyar boys after twelve were supposed to attend the *Kalari* and learn boxing, fencing, sword play, military formation, and the ordinary rules of warfare. For such training the *Desa Vazhi* was not paid. After eighteen the boys were not supposed to attend the *Kalari*, but were required to be ready to start for war at a day's notice.

The *Kalaris* are still in existence. Even now the Nāyar young men who do not go to English schools get some sort of a training with imitation swords and shields, because swords are prohibited by the Arms Act. In certain families one male member has to be proficient in this art so as to be able to teach the others. The *Kalaris*, though now visited by people only for the extreme beauty of their architecture, are still used by the Nāyars of the *Desas* as places of worship.

On the festival days in the village temple the Nāyars, who have been thus trained, even now hold a review in martial array (*vēla*). In Trivandrum, which is the capital of the Maharajah of Travancore, this feature is very prominent. In other places there are still *Patayanis* (*Pata*=war, *ani*=to get ready). All the Nāyars of the surrounding districts assemble, and the ceremonies which in former days stood for military manœuvres are held with great enthusiasm.

The centre of all the martial and, consequently, of the social life of the Nāyars is, therefore, the *Desa*. In each village there is a temple owned by the community. The temple is generally self-supporting, and occasionally very rich. The temple authorities are appointed by the village. The power is generally vested in the *Pramanis*, or the chief men. In each village there are certain families who have the right of being consulted in all matters connected with it. The head of these *Pramanis* is the Lord of the Manor.

In describing the organization of the village, it is better to take one practical example which is typical. Kavalam is such a village. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the description of the organization of that village.

The village is supposed to consist of one hundred and fifty houses. This is the traditional number, but at least fifty of these have emigrated. But though they live in other parts of the country they are still considered to belong to this organization. In all the ceremonies that require the sanction of the village the emigrant,

[i.e., The Nadu Vazhi -- Analyst]

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unless he has been admitted by certain formalities to the village to which he has emigrated, is considered to belong to his original home.

The village is divided into two *Karas* (or *Amsams*), the northern *Kara* and the southern *Kara*. The division is arbitrary and has no significance. A man from Kavalam belonging to the North or South *Kara* is treated in another village as belonging to the same place.

The *Bhagavati* (goddess) Temple in the village was, before the government took possession of it, owned by *two Karas jointly*.

In each of the *Karas* there are five *Āsāns* or *Pramanis*. They keep *Kalaris* and are honoured and respected by all the Nāyars in the district. No common Nāyar is allowed to sit in their presence, to enter their kitchen, or to call their women without the title of *Kunjamma* (or Ladyship).

The seventy-five families which the *Kara* contains are divided between the five *Āsāns*. Each *Āsān*, therefore, has a general authority over all the families, and special rights over the fifteen families immediately under his control.

In all matters of ceremony the *Āsāns* have to be informed beforehand. Without their presence, no public ceremony of any family is supposed to be valid. All the public functions of the village are done by them. The ceremonies of the temple, for example, are under their control. They are the people who summon the *Karakkars*, or the villagers, to assemble and settle matters of importance. The villagers settle in such assemblies, things relating to the community, such as public festivals, the expenditure of *Karayogam* (common to the village) funds and the behaviour of people who have acted against the customs of the village. If a marriage ceremony had not been properly conducted, it comes before them. If an *Āsān* had not been properly invited, that matter also comes up for consideration. Instances of punishments inflicted by the village on individuals and families were not uncommon till lately. I remember a particular case in which the villagers as a body led by their *Āsān* walked out of the marriage (*Talikettu*) *pandal* because the order of precedence was not kept up. The family of a squire had, during these hard days, become poor, and a rich squire who, in order of precedence, came below him was given a seat of honour. The result was that the whole community walked out as a protest, and the *Kalyanam* had to be held over again to the satisfaction of the poor *Āsān* and his loyal friends.

How strong this organisation is will be seen from the following incident. A gentleman, when coming from Madras, had a Christian friend with him, and his servant who waited for him at Alleppey was eating his food when both of them entered the boat. It is a very rigid custom that no food can be taken in the company, or even in the proximity of any lower caste, and Christians are considered to be such. The result of it was that when they got home the news got abroad that the Nāyar servant had eaten with a Christian in the boat, and the whole village

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2. *Kaimal* (from *kai*, hand, meaning power).—The Kaimáls were, according to tradition, the fighting masters of Cochin and Malabar. At one time, they were in charge of the royal treasury, which by respected custom could not be visited by the Rajas themselves, except in the presence of the Kaimals. "Neither could they", says Barbosa, "take anything out of it without a great necessity, and by the council of this person and certain others." They were also the chieftains or rulers of certain localities, owing a kind of allegiance to the ruler of the State. Many of the Kaimal families are still in existence, such as the Koratti Kaimal, Cherukayil Kaimal and others.

3. *Kurup*.—This is also a title attached to the names of many Nayar families and is also assumed by other castes. Some of them were military instructors (Kalari Kurups) in the old royal families of Cochin and in North Malabar. [1]

4. *Panikkar*.—The word comes from *pani*, meaning work. The Panikkars originally kept *kalaries* (fencing or gymnastic schools with a sort of private chapel attached to it) in Cochin, Malabar and Travancore. They are spoken of by the Portuguese writers as the strength of the country. They are no longer in charge of *kalaris* but are now engaged in other occupations. Some are experts in sword play.

5. *Nayar*.—The Pathináyirathil (10,000) and Muppathináyirathil (30,000) Nayars who constitute the forty thousand belonged to the Kiriyam and Chárna castes. The title was generally conferred in Malabar by kings or feudal chiefs, but in the State it was mostly assumed by the Sudrás who had not received other titles.

6. *Menon*.—The word is a contraction of *mél*, above, and *avan*, he, and means a superior person. The title was given to many Nayar families or individuals by the rulers of Cochin. As soon as a person received this title, he was presented with an *óla* (palmyra leaf) and an iron style for writing thereon. This is symbolical of the profession of an accountant. Even now, in Cochin and British Malabar, each *amsom* or revenue village has a writer or an accountant who is called a Ménón. The title of *Menókki* means one who looks over or superintends, and is found only in British

1. Ethnographic appendices, page 131.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

the uneven nature of the terrains. Along the coastal strip, inland waterways are the ideal means of transporting lighter commodities.

1.49 It is well known that in standards of literacy Kerala is ahead of all the other States of India. The literate population is 46.2 per cent as compared with 23.7 per cent for the whole of India (1961 Census). Kerala has a very long tradition in imparting education on organized lines. Initiative in the spread of education was first taken by the Christian Missionaries during the middle of the last century. The State followed up by offering grant of aid to the missionary schools, and opening of new Government schools.

1.50 While the State is in the forefront of India in general education, it is hardly so in the sphere of technical education. From the point of view of future industrialization programmes, the emphasis in future will have to undergo a shift in position. During the Second Plan period considerable progress has been made in opening a number of polytechnics and other technical institutions. Their impact, however, will only be felt during the Third Plan period when qualified technicians start coming out from these institutes.

1.51 The State is also fairly high up in the standard of its health services although in some of the indices of health service development it lags behind all-India standards. On the other hand the *ayurvedic* system has had a long established tradition in the State and is popular among the public. Some of the indices showing the relative state of development of medical facilities are given below:

	India (Persons)	*Kerala* (Persons)
One doctor for	7,000	5,200
One nurse for	19,000	16,700
One hospital bed for	1,400	3,125

Regional Disparities

1.52 Although the infra-structure as a whole is well developed in the State, it is not uniformly so all over the State. Economically, Malabar, which was previously a part of the Madras State, is on a distinctly different plane from the Travancore-Cochin area. Unlike the erstwhile States of Travancore and Cochin, Malabar did not receive the benefit of State patronage. At present Malabar is backward compared to Travancore-Cochin in terms of almost all the indicators of economic development. Both the transport and education system are not as well developed in Malabar as in Travancore-Cochin.[1] It lags behind industrially as well. Unemployment also seems to be higher in Malabar. This is corroborated by the much lower participation rate in the case of Malabar.[2] Under these circumstances, economic policy would undoubtedly have to pay due attention to the need for levelling up such wide disparities.

[1] Chapters on "Industries—Structure and Growth" and "Transport". (Nos. 9 and 8)
[2] Chapter on Manpower. (No. 11)

3.13 The Sindhi bulls which have been selected for the upgrading work in Kerala are scarce these days, and it may be difficult to procure the required number for the proposed programme. The number of bulls needed would, however, be much smaller under artificial insemination than under natural service. The former programme should, therefore, be preferred to the latter. As the State is well served with roads and has a good and efficient transport system, three or four central semen collecting centres would be needed to cover the entire State provided the product is quickly dispatched and properly stored while in transit. The centres may be located at Trivandrum, Trichur, Calicut and Palghat. Bulls should be provided for natural service in remote and out of the way places. The proposed breeding programme would need buildings, equipment and livestock for artificial insemination centres. These programmes would require an investment of Rs. 8.76 lakhs over the Third and Fourth Plan periods.

Prevention and Control of Diseases

3.14 Prevention of diseases peculiar to livestock and a machinery for their control is a pre-requisite for proper development of animal husbandry. Under the present circumstances, where there is a heavy incidence of disease and high mortality rates, any enterprise in the field of animal husbandry is fraught with high risks ; and farmers are hesitant to hazard investment on any animal husbandry business. The major share of burden will naturally have to be borne by the Government.

3.15 For effective prevention and control of diseases, it is necessary to have an adequate number of well-staffed veterinary dispensaries and hospitals. These institutions should, as far as possible, render free treatment. Under the conditions prevailing in Kerala, it is considered necessary to have at least two veterinary hospitals in every taluk and one dispensary or first-aid clinic in every Panchayat. Measured by this norm, the existing facilities are utterly inadequate. While there are 55 taluks and 892 Panchayats in Kerala, the total number of hospitals and dispensaries,[1] at the end of 1958-59 were only 45 and 69 respectively. (Table 21)[2]

3.16 Two factors are responsible for this situation : (*i*) shortage of personnel and (*ii*) paucity of funds. With the opening of the veterinary college at Trichur, the situation may be expected to improve with regard to the personnel, provided adequate funds are made available. The State should try to achieve the above norms by the end of the Fourth Plan. Investment on the proposed 20 additional hospitals and 723 dispensaries would be about Rs. 77.3 lakhs.

POULTRY DEVELOPMENT

3.17 Though Kerala has the best developed commercial poultry industry in the country, conditions under which the birds are reared are far from satisfactory. The birds are not adequately fed, and consequently they resort to scavenging. A good

[1] Includes Stockman's stations and Inspector's stations.

[2] In 1960 the numbers were 63 and 133 respectively.

[See p. 285, category 11b - Analyst]

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Forest Roads

4.57 Although in respect of overall position regarding forest roads, Kerala is comparatively better off and accessibility is quite good, there are some remote areas for which new roads are required. Opening up of these areas through forest roads would permit tapping of certain pockets of forest resources uptil now lying untapped. Some of these important roads which have been suggested for being taken up during the Third Plan are :

(a) *Roads from Dhon to Palamalai*—to tap the Chenat Nair reserved forests and to make Palamalai a summer resort.

(b) *Extension of the Silent Valley roads to the borders of the Nilgiris district*—to tap the rich resources of the Silent Valley reserved forest and the improvement of its existing natural regeneration.

(c) *Construction of a road from Nelliampathy Parambikulam Tellikkal.* This will make Sungam and Parambikulam Ranges accessible through the Kerala territory only. At present, the State has to depend on the goodwill of the Madras Forest Department for the extraction of forest produces.

The cost of constructing these roads is estimated to be Rs. 50 lakhs.

Training Facilities

4.58 The programme for raising forest plantations can be implemented smoothly only if there is adequately trained personnel to deal with the several technical problems. At present the staff is generally deputed to Forest Colleges at Dehra Dun and Coimbatore for training. These colleges cannot, however, meet the requirements of training lower grade staff. It is, therefore, suggested that in view of the importance of forestry to Kerala, this State should have a separate training institute of its own. This institute, may be located at Peechi.

Resource Survey

4.59 For proper planning of forest-based industries, the exact extent of availability and location of different types of forest resources should be known. In the past, development has been impeded by industries being allotted more areas than was warranted by their capacity. This has thwarted development of other industries which could have utilized the surplus raw material from the forest coupes. These defects can be remedied only if a full inventory of forest resources is available. Uptil now only a survey of bamboo areas has been carried out. During the Third Plan a full resource survey should be carried out.

ESTABLISHMENT REQUIRED FOR THE DEVELOPMENTS PROPOSED

4.60 If the development programmes proposed in this report are to be carried out, strengthening of the Forest Department will be necessary. Appointment of

5.5 The average annual landing of marine (coastal) fish is estimated at 260,000 tons (35% of the all-India output) and the gross value of marine catches at Rs. 6.5 crores.

5.6 The catches from coastal waters comprise such commercially important species of fish as Sardines (20%), Prawns (13%), Mackerel (11%), Sharks (5%), Silverbellies (4%), Horse Mackerel (4%), Sole (3%) and Ribbon fish (3%). According to a sample survey conducted by the ICAR in Travancore-Cochin area, about 61 per cent of the total landings are consumed in fresh condition and the remaining part is utilized in various fish-based industries. (An alternative estimate by the State Fisheries Department puts the ratio as fifty-fifty.)

5.7 Dug-out, plank-built canoes and catamarans are the main types of crafts employed for fishing. Dug-out canoes are more popular throughout the State. Boat seines, gill nets, lines and hooks, coast nets and shore seines are the important tackle used in Kerala. Drift nets are used for catching Sardines, Mackerels and Sharks while long lines are sometimes employed for exploiting Horse Mackerels and Shark fisheries.

5.8 During the last decade efforts have been made to introduce mechanized fishing in order to raise the outturn and improve per capita income of the fishermen. Experiments for mechanizing indigenous boats and introducing suitable new types of mechanized crafts have been carried out in the State with the help of FAO experts and the Indo-Norwegian Project. However, unlike Maharashtra, Kerala has made very little progresss in mechanizing its fishing activity. This is mainly explained by the fact that the indigenous crafts in use in Kerala at present, have been found unsuitable for the installation of engines. Thus, to introduce mechanized boats, new boats have to be designed and constructed. As a result of a number of investigations and trials, a few small mechanized boats, ranging from 20 to 26 feet in length, have been recently introduced in the State. The Indo-Norwegian Project has so far issued 88 mechanized boats to the fishermen who completed training with the project. In addition to these, the State Fisheries Department has also issued 39 mechanized vessels. Of these, 25 have been issued to fishermen; of the rest, some are operated by the Department at training centres for transportation of fish and some still remain idle.

5.9 In Kerala, as in some other marine States of India, mechanized boats are issued at subsidized rates to fishermen's cooperatives, groups of fishermen and to trainees who have been trained at one of the two Training Centres in the State. The quantum of subsidies is in line with the all-India pattern, that is, 50 per cent of the cost of engine, 25 per cent of the cost of hull and 33⅓ per cent on that of fishing nets and gears.[1]

5.10 The Indo-Norwegian Project is playing an important role in the development of fisheries in Kerala. The project aims at the improvement of socio-economic conditions of the fishermen. The programme envisages an increase in the production of fish as well as the earnings of the fishermen, improved handling and distribution of catches, the promotion of cooperative activities, and better sanitation and living conditions in the fishermen's villages. The project has also undertaken the supply of fish to the interior areas of the State. It provides most of the basic requirements of

[1] The Indo-Norwegian Project issued nets and gear on 80 per cent and hull and engine on 50 per cent subsidy in the beginning.

will be essential to provide a properly trained and experienced Fisheries Development Officer in overall charge of each Integrated Centre for coordinating its activities.

Training

5.57 At present there are three centres to train fishermen in the State. The training course which extends over six months aims mainly at training the fishermen in the operation, servicing and maintenance of marine engines, making of nets and tackles, improved fishing methods and the fundamentals of navigation.

5.58 These centres are located at Neendakara, Ernakulam, and Beypore. The first two centres can train 20 fishermen each in a batch, and the last can train 15. So far, 272 fishermen have been trained at the Ernakulam and Beypore centres (run by the Fisheries Department), of whom 150 are now actually employed in mechanized fishing. At the Neendakara centre, which is run by the Indo-Norwegian Project, 121 fishermen have undergone training so far.

5.59 The programme suggested for the next 10 years would require a crew of about 6,400. This would involve a huge training programme and entail a heavy burden on the State. Arrangements can at best be made to provide training facilities to about half the number. The rest can receive on-the-job training from the trained fishermen. As about 1,200 trained fishermen would be required by the end of the Third Plan, not only will the capacity of the existing training centres have to be increased but also at least five new centres will have to be established.

5.60 The operation of the proposed medium-sized boats will also require the services of trained skipper-cum-master fisherman. Either a special centre for training skippers should be established in the State, or the facilities at the Government of India Deep-Sea Fishing Stations at Bombay and other places should be expanded. For operating trawlers, the State Government should enlist the collaboration of foreign fishing companies in order to obtain along with the fishing vessels, the services of trained technical personnel. At the same time efforts should also be made to train Indian personnel in the various fields by appointing them as understudies to the foreign technicians or by sending them abroad. The training of Fisheries Development Officers, Marketing Officers and other high level technical staff can be arranged at the Institute of Fisheries Education, which is proposed to be started by the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture. For training the middle and lower level staff, it is desirable to establish a Fisheries Training Institute in the State.

INVESTMENT AND OUTPUT IMPLICATIONS

5.61 A substantial part of investment will be on mechanization of boat craft and acquisition of trawlers for off-shore fishing. These two items alone will absorb Rs. 6.35 crores out of a total investment of Rs. 10.72 crores.[1] Details of investment on various items are given in Table 27.[2] This does not include expenditure on deve-

[1] The outlay allocated for the Third Plan is Rs. 4.5 crores, which will leave a balance of Rs. 6.75 for the Fourth Plan, if suggestions made in this Report are to be implemented.

[2] [Table 27, appearing on p. 289 of the text, has not been processed -- AWll]